

2 5  
JPRS: 4229

28 November 1960

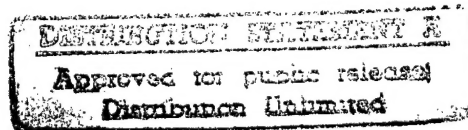
DTIC QUALITY INSPECTED

CONTEMPORARY CATHOLICISM

By D. L. Pokhilevich

-USSR-

REMOVED FROM FILE



Photocopies of this report may be purchased from:

PHOTODUPLICATION SERVICE  
LIBRARY OF CONGRESS  
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

U. S. JOINT PUBLICATIONS RESEARCH SERVICE  
1636 CONNECTICUT AVE., N.W.  
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

19980109 211

## F O R E W O R D

This publication was prepared under contract by the UNITED STATES JOINT PUBLICATIONS RESEARCH SERVICE, a federal government organization established to service the translation and research needs of the various government departments.

JPRS: 4229

CSO: 1153-S

## CONTEMPORARY CATHOLICISM

Following is the translation of a book by D. L. Pokhilevich entitled Sovremennyy katolitsizm (English version above), Znaniye (Knowledge) Publishing House, Moscow, 1960, pages 1-40.7

### Table of Contents

	<u>Page</u>
Introduction	1
I. CATHOLICISM AT THE SERVICE OF THE BOURGEOISIE	5
II. THE CATHOLIC CHURCH - A CAPITALIST	12
III. CATHOLIC ORGANIZATIONS	14
IV. CATHOLICISM AND THE COLONIAL SYSTEM	20
V. VATICAN IN ITS FIGHT AGAINST THE SOCIALIST CAMP	22
VI. THE VATICAN -- ENEMY OF PEACE	30
VII. OBSCURANTISTS OF THE 20TH CENTURY	34
VIII. NEW POPE -- OLD COURSE	37
XI. CATHOLICS LEAVE THE VATICAN	39

## INTRODUCTION

"He who consoles the slave instead of rousing him to rebel against slavery, helps the slaveholders".

The Great October Socialist Revolution and the formation of the Soviet State gave the capitalist world a crippling blow. It made a gap in the capitalist system which the exploiting class, despite all its efforts, found impossible to repair.

World War II which, according to the capitalist reactionaries, was supposed to help them liquidate the land of the Soviets together with their own revolutionary movements at home, turned out to be a complete failure. Several countries got rid of their capitalist regimes, and socialism, leaving the boundaries of one country, became a world system.

The successful growth of the USSR and of the nations of Peoples' Democracies, together with an active growth of the workers' international revolutionary movement and the disintegration of the colonial system, strengthened the over-all crisis of capitalism.

In an effort to save its position, imperialism began to mobilize all its reactionary forces, not shying from any ways or means.

Capitalism's tested helpers -- all kinds of social reformers, socio-chauvinists, various religious organizations, including the Catholic Church -- help capitalism even more diligently now than after the World War I.

Religion, as history shows, always figured as a tool of exploitation, persecutor of science, and a raging foe of the revolutionary movement of the workers.

Catholicism is one of the varieties of the religious (Christian) ideologies. Christianity began in the Roman Empire in the first century of our era at a time when slavery was in the process of disintegration. Having been born as a religion of slaves, as an expression of their helpless protest and disillusionment in their own strength, Christianity soon became the state religion (Fifth Century). This means that even early Christianity had the characteristics which suited the exploiters. These are, first of all, the belief in the supernatural, in the



life hereafter, and in the reward for this life after death.

Christianity demanded from its followers submissiveness and obedience in this life, resignation from force as the means of changing the social institutions, and the persual of personal happiness.

Human suffering, heavy exhausting labor for their masters, calamities, etc., Christianity pronounced to be the punishment for "original sin," supposedly committed by Adam and Eve in Paradise. While banishing Adam from this paradise, the bible announces, God told him "Cursed be the earth in thy deeds ... in the sweat of thy brow thou shalt eat thy bread ... Eve, for her punishment, shall give birth to her children in pain. Death shall be a deliverance to the people from their suffering on this earth." While consoling those it exploits, in order to keep them in obedience, Christianity teaches that "you yourself are responsible for the corruption of this world; all are guilty through our own inter corruption."<sup>1</sup> Consequently, when there is any suffering Christianity recommends inner perfection and "the saving of the soul" reminding us at the same time that "Christ suffered and recommended the same for us." Christianity soothes the oppressed by making all people equal before God, by a just reward in the "thousand year kingdom," in the life after death, if they reconcile themselves to their suffering in this life. "Blessed be the weeping because they shall be comforted," announces the bible.

Instead of struggling to change the existing order, Christianity offers nonresistance to evil: "... if he will strike you on the right cheek, turn to him the other." With its authority it instilled respect for private property, it called the faithful to do good to people but at the same time not to oppose the cruelty of their masters: "Fear God and respect the Tsar. Servants, with all fears obey your masters, not only the good and humble but the austere ones also." Christianity brought about obedience to the state: "Every soul shall be obedient to the higher powers, for there is no power which is not from God."

It is not surprising that the reigning classes found Christianity to their liking. It declared the existing regime to be from God, softened the sharpness of social contradictions, and helped the exploiters oppress the workers.

Pointing to the social role of religion, V. I. Lenin, in his article "Socialism and Religion," wrote that religion (including Christianity) teaches humility and patience, promising reward in the other world to him who all his life toils and is in need; and to those who live by the labor of others it teaches philanthropy, offering in this way a cheap excuse for their existence.

Christianity emerged not at once but was put together through the ages and was never monolithic, either in terms of ideology or of organization. It always contained various movements -- or heresies. In 1054, Christianity split to form two churches -- the eastern, Greek-Orthodox Church with its center in Constantinople, and the western -- the Roman-Catholic Church -- with its center in Rome.

In the Middle Ages the Catholic Church achieved great religious and political influence in western Europe. It became a large land owner, serf-owner, merchant, and money-lender. Popes, bishops, and monasteries amassed great wealth. In France, England, Spain, Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and other countries of Europe, from one fourth to one half of all lands and serfs belonged to the Catholic Church. Popes, bishops, and abbots of the monasteries were as much the feudal lords as the secular aristocracy. The clergy was a special class, which matched the aristocracy in the privileges it enjoyed and even outdid the latter in the exploitation of the peasants.

It is natural, therefore, that the Catholic Church and its clergy were interested in strengthening the feudal regime. "It" (the Catholic Church -- author) -- wrote F. Engels, -- "surrounded the feudal regime with the holy halo of God's blessings." All attempts of peasants and burgers against the feudal oppression were denounced as sin.

A. N. Radishchev, the poet-revolutionary, pointed out very plainly the mutual dependence between religion and the exploiting regime:

"Tsar's might defends the church,  
The faith confirms Tsar's might:  
Together they oppress society."

It is easy to understand why the peasants' and burgers' movements of the Middle Ages, which were directed against feudalism, concerned the Catholic Church as well, and why during the first capitalist revolutions (Netherlandish, English, and French) the peasants, artisans, and the bourgeoisie let its ire fall on the Church. It is not surprising also

that among the organizers and participants in all counterrevolutionary conspiracies and interventions there were Popes and Catholic clergy.

As the result of the victory of the middle class in the Netherlands and in England, the Catholic Church was dissolved and replaced by the Protestant one. In France a great portion of church lands was confiscated, the clergy was subjected to the state, and the Catholic Church was denied its role as the state Church. If one also takes into account the fact that even in the 16th Century, at the time of the Reformation, the Catholic Church was done away with in Switzerland, Norway, Denmark, and in the greater part of the German Empire, it would seem then that Catholicism could never again play an important role in the social and political life of Europe. However, it only seemed so.

## I. CATHOLICISM AT THE SERVICE OF THE BOURGEOISIE

Disregarding the fact that the winning forces of all middle-class revolutions were composed of the people, the bourgeoisie always snatched power in its own hands after victory. It waged a struggle with the feudal aristocracy not in the name of the people's happiness but only to remove the obstacles from its own path in facilitating the peoples' exploitation.

Naturally the bourgeoisie was interested in utilizing those means which helped it keep the exploited people in obedience. It was folly to think that only through the efforts of the army, the police, and the court could they achieve it. They needed ideological factors. Among these was religion, the most encompassing, tested, and supported by history. However, the mutually inflicted wounds were so deep and still so fresh that reconciliation between Catholicism and bourgeoisie seemed impossible. Napoleon was the first to make an effort in that direction. Having seized power, he realized the need of the help of the Church and the Pope in order to keep in obedience and people of France and of the other countries which he occupied. And the Catholic Church did not refuse its services; Pope Pius VII (1800-1823) concluded a treaty with Napoleon, according to which he and the Catholic Church would receive a good subsistence from the government in return for a pledge to the new rulers. Napoleon was satisfied with their services. "With my gendarmes and my priests everything is within my power," he boasted not infrequently.

In France the Catholic Church even wrote a new catechism in which the answer to the question as to how the people should relate to their new emperor was: "Christians should show love, respect, obedience, and faithfulness to their sovereign who rules them, and in particular to Napoleon I. They are obliged to serve in the armed forces and pay taxes .. pray dilligently for his health." Yes, the French priests earned their bread.

Napoleon, however, watched closely his newly acquired servants, who were not yet quite used to their new roles. It took only for Pope Pius VII to begin double-play for Napoleon immediately to disban the Pope's state and transfer Pope himself to France.

The first half of the 19th Century was outstanding in that during that time the proletariat emerged as an independent force onto the political

arena with its unique demands and new forms of struggle. The revolution of 1848 touched not only France, Germany, and Italy, but also the Pope's state. In November 1848, the Pope was forced to flee from his own "Apostle's capitol" in disguise, like a thief. These were hard times for Papism and Catholicism.

These circumstances spurred the Catholic Church into its further and closer relationship with the bourgeoisie. At the National Convention of France the spokesman of the clergy, Montalamber /transliterated from Russian/, was trying to persuade the French middle class: "What is today's problem? It is to instill respect for private property in those who do not have it. To achieve this, I know of no other way but to force them to believe in God ... there, where people are bound by God's law, God himself executes the duties of the police." In this way the church openly declared that it is ready to guard the bourgeois regime, to play the role of its spiritual police; this was, after all, in its own interest.

In December 1849, Pope Pius IX issued an encyclical against socialism and in 1864 a "Syllabus" ("The List of Fallacies"), in which he cursed the democratic freedoms, scientific discoveries, and socialistic ideas.

After the Commune of Paris, the gap between Catholicism and the middle class narrowed even more. The Catholic Church thought that the middle class would, after all, be easier to deal with. The Jesuits, addressing themselves to the middle class, were preaching: "The International, armed with torches and kerosine, is the vessel of God's wrath. Choose the Pope or the International!"

In reality there was no choice to be made. Under no circumstances could the capitalists join forces with socialism. The Catholic Church was presenting itself as a guarantee that the Commune of Paris would never again take place and the middle class was becoming more and more favorably disposed to its recent enemy. The executioner of the Paris Communers, T'yer /transliterated from Russian/, declared: "It is necessary to choose between socialism and the Jesuits."

The Catholic Church itself, however, became more reasonable after the Commune of Paris. It was, after all, the Commune which adapted the law of separation of church and state, the liquidation of government subsidies to the church, and nationalization of the so-called inalienable property both real

estate and movables, which belonged to the religious organizations.

This coming together of the Catholic Church and the middle class was facilitated by the changes which were taking place in the land-owning nobility circles -- the old stronghold of the Catholic Church. The landowners began to discover common interests with financial and industrial capital. The Vatican itself openly engaged in "worldly" affairs in the field of capitalistic profit. In 1830 it organized the "Banko di Sconto." In 1834, in order to speculate in real estate, the Vatican organized Banko Romano which later was joined by the big Roman financiers. In 1880, Pope Leo XIII organized the "Banko di Roma" which gambled widely with the stock market. In 1895, the "Bank of St. Mark" was organized. In the following years dozens of Vatican-affiliated banks were opened in the colonies.

Vatican capital (with the participation of Italian and British capital) was being invested in corporations and joint-stock companies for the construction and exploitation of Roman plumbing, gas, and electricity. With its capital the Catholic Church began wide dealing through a net of savings associations and insurance companies. At the same time articles appeared in the Vatican press which argue the necessity of fighting against socialism.

Thus, common interests in protecting private property, struggling with the advancing socialist movement, and retaining the ruling positions in society of the rich and the Church brought the Catholic Church and the bourgeoisie into an alliance.

It is a known fact that at the end of the 19th Century capitalism stepped into its highest phase -- imperialism -- which is characterized by the strengthening of reaction in all spheres of life. The most difficult and complicated question for the middle class at that time was the "labor question." The revolutionary labor movement assumed world-wide importance. In order to struggle with capitalist exploitation the workers created their own organizations: Workers' unions, parties, etc. ... K. Marx and F. Engels worked out a theory of scientific socialism which became the guiding star of the world proletarian movement. The first example of what the working class is capable of became the Paris Commune which "threatened the life of the old world which was based on slavery and exploitation."<sup>3</sup>

All efforts to subdue the labor movement with

police methods gave unconsoling results. Here, to the aid of the middle class came "the Holy Church." In 1878 Pope Leo XII came out with a proclamation against those "who call themselves socialists, communists, and nihilists." The Pope attacked them for maintaining that "people by nature are equal....," that they are not (by nature) "subjected to the higher powers which received from God the right to rule the people...."

The Pope explained his position on the relation of the church to the labor question most fully in his well known encyclical of 1891 "Rerum Novarum" (Of New Things). Here we must pause and examine it in more detail, since these ideas constitute the basis of the Catholic policy regarding secular life to this day.

In 1890-91, in Italy, there was a wave of mass strikes. The contradictions between labor and capital were becoming more and more apparent. Even the church could not pass them by in silence. If, on the other hand, it attempted to do something about it, it risked losing the remains of its influence at the top. Turning the tables about, in order to possess the movement, the Vatican began to flirt with it, playing the role of a "defender" of the "just" demands of the workers. In his encyclical Leo XII described vividly the hard life of the workers under capitalism. He condemned the capitalists' excessive exploitation of the workers and called for the rich to help the poor, thereby alleviating their wants. The church was ready to come to the aid of the proletariat in its attempts to improve its status. In the encyclical is mentioned the necessity of establishing a minimum wage for the workers, shortening the working day, protecting women workers, etc. All these were demands made long ago by the labor movement. The Church, however, was proposing her own way of achieving this -- by means of the Christian cooperation of all classes.

At the same time the Pope consoled the oppressed to the effect that the rich and the poor were and shall be, since God himself willed it so for the salvation of his people. To compensate for this, the poor will be rewarded in the other life a hundred-fold. This world, the Pope maintained, is constructed by God in such a way that the workers can not exist without the capitalists, or they would die of hunger; and the capitalists can not exist without the workers. From this Leo XII deduced the ne-



cessity of the cooperation, not the struggle, between labor and the capital. The missive ends with an invocation to the workers to love their bosses, since "God himself willed it so that some be workers and others manufacturers and capitalists." The Pope proclaimed private property to be natural, eternal, and God-given. In order to confuse the workers the Pope piled everything into one heap -- private property -- i.e., capitalists' property and personal property. The Pope argues that the abolition of private property is not advantageous to the workers themselves because they will then, supposedly, lose their chance to increase their possessions by means of diligence, frugality, and humility. They would lose their chance to become capitalists themselves.

Leo XII called for all proletarians to unite into workers' organizations under his slogan. Such organizations of the union type began indeed to arise in a number of capitalist countries. Through these organizations Catholicism possessed the ability to exert pressure directly on the conflicts between the workers and the capitalists. "The Holy Church" played the role of an arbiter in the conflicts between them, but in reality it was an accomplice of the capitalists-exploiters.

Thus the capitalist regime received "God's" sanction and the fight against it was proclaimed a sin. The "Holy" Church decorated capitalism with an aura of God's blessings as it formerly did feudalism.

However, Pope Leo XIII was in a hurry to help capitalism not by means of missives to the faithful only. He endeavored to unite, very much on the pattern of the former "Holy Union," the most reactionary movements, socialism. He was very persistent in trying to establish closer ties with the Russian Tsar Alexander III and the German Emperor Wilhelm II. He wasn't taken back by the fact that the former was a Russian-Orthodox and the latter a Protestant, i.e., both were in religious opposition to the Pope.

Speaking to the Tsar's ambassador Isvol'skiy, Leo XIII said: "Why shouldn't a country like Russia, which strives to uphold the conservative principles, have that strength (i.e., the Catholic Church) as her ally". To this end the Pope was ready to cede the interests of his "beloved" Polish people who were waging a struggle against the Tsarist yoke. Leo promised to utilize all his authority to force the Poles to remain loyal to the Russian autocracy.



The same policy was enforced by Leo's successor, Pope Pius X. He demanded from the Catholics (Poles and Lithuanians) that they not participate in the revolution of 1905 and remain loyal to the monarchy, thereby pleasing Nikolas II no end. When, in 1903, Wilhelm II visited the Vatican, Leo XII declared that he "... has a mission to return Europe to Christianity by subduing socialistic and atheistic ideas." Thus, in order to fight socialism, the Pope was ready to join forces with the devil himself.

Leo's successor held to his views and defended them. In 1931, in honor of the 40th anniversary of the encyclical "Rerum Novarum," Pius XI reiterated the natural, holy character of private property and of its inviolability. The Pope was ensuring that the workers were especially dear to him, since Christ himself was a "laborer from Nazareth." He was persistent in asking the workers and entrepreneurs to halt their mutual hostilities and unite in brotherly reconciliation in "associations" and "corporations."

The late Pope Pius XII was the one who worked diligently on social problems. Broadening the ideas of Leo XII on the harmony of labor and capital, he likened the relationship of workers and manufacturers to those existing in the family among parents and children. The "father-manufacturers" concern themselves, so to speak, with satisfaction of the needs of the "children-workers" and the latter in their turn must respect and obey their "father-manufacturers." Pius XII assured the poor over and over again that the rich and the poor did and shall exist, that it was useless to pursue worldly blessings, and that it was better to strive for heavenly ones. One should note here that whereas it may have been relatively easy for Leo XII to assure the workers that labor can not exist without capital, Pius XI and XII did not have it so easy. The example of the Soviet Union served as vivid testimony for the workers of other countries that it was quite possible that not socialism, but capitalism, applied the brakes to the development of humanity. The yearly increase in the industrial production of the USSR is many times greater than that of the capitalist nations, unemployment is unknown to the USSR, and it occupies a leading place in the social, cultural, and scientific progress of mankind.

In some isolated cases, out of fear of losing its influence on the leaders, the church was forced to sanction some workers' struggle against their

exploiters. However, the church explains such sanctions, not by the innate faults of capitalism, but by stating that some entrepreneurs "lost God in their hearts" and therefore such moves are not displeasing to God. For the very same reasons the Popes assured the Catholic workers that the church is concerned with a "more just" distribution of wealth among the people; however, no concrete measures are to be seen thus far.

The capitalists and landowners were obligated to the Vatican for mobilizing all of its church forces to fight the socialist movement and for uniting its efforts with the work of government organs in this matter.

The middle class greeted the ideas of "Rerum Novarum" and its further developments with rapture and gratitude. And how could it be otherwise? The church guarded with jealousy the basis of its existence -- private ownership of the means of production. Without relieving the middle class of this basis the proletariat would have been unable to defeat capitalism and to build a just human society. The middle class was not even offended by the fact that church sociology contained a "critique" of capitalism, because it knew very well that this "critique" gave the religious conception an appearance of objectivity, a lack of bias which enhances the church's influence over the workers. The middle class has the Pope to thank for that schism which its vile Catholic politics introduced into the world labor movement. The Catholic Church energetically took it upon itself to organize the unions which were to stand for cooperation with capital and not for the class struggle.

Being in the faithful service of the capitalists, the church began now to avoid more and more its old teaching that labor is a "punishment," God's curse, since it began to make its flirtation with the workers a bit difficult and, mainly, since it made it difficult to persuade them to increase their productivity for the capitalists. In addition, the contemporary people can justifiably ask why God's curse applies only to one half of the descendants of Adam and Eve -- to the poor -- and the rich are exempt from it.

Exposing the intentions of the middle class to unite all reactionary forces for the fight with socialism, and explaining the causes of its utilization by capitalism, V. I. Lenin wrote: "We are now in such an historical moment, when the reigning middle class, out of the fear of the growing and strengthening proletariat, supports everything backward, primitive, and

dying. The dying bourgeoisie unites itself with everything dead and dying in order to preserve the rocking mercenary slavery."4

## II. THE CATHOLIC CHURCH -- A CAPITALIST

At the present time the Catholic Church and its leaders are fully subjected to the middle class, but for all the appearances the Church falsely underscores before its faithful its democracy, objectivity, and independence from everybody. The process of strengthening the union of the Catholic Church and capitalism was taking place almost simultaneously with the metamorphosis of the Vatican into a world capitalist organization organically merged with the capitalist economic system. Even after all the confiscations, secularization, and variety of middle class agricultural reforms, the Catholic Church remains a seizable landowner. The land belongs to the monasteries, religious orders, individual clergy, etc. Before the Second World War the Catholic Church possessed 465,000 hectares of land in Italy and two thirds of all the arable land in Spain. The family of the late Pope Pius XII possessed 25,000 hectares of land, and about as much belongs now to the influential Marquis Saketi (Saccetti?), who is attached to the Pope's court. In Latin America the Catholic orders possess especially large tracts of land.

However, the possessions of the Catholic Church are strongest not in agriculture, but in finance and industry. By data in the Italian and US press (the Vatican does not publish its budget), the foreign exchange and the gold of the Vatican in 1952 was 11 billion dollars and exceeded the same type of funds of Italy, France, and England combined. In addition, the Vatican deposits its capital into hundreds of the largest banks of Italy and the whole world, thereby becoming their accomplice in the exploitation of the people. In 1956, Vatican deposits in Italy alone were valued at 900 billion lira. In Italy the Vatican, through a system of banks which depend on it, holds in its hands 400 billion out of 600 billion lira of the savings of the entire country.

One can expect to meet the Vatican's capital and that of the Catholic orders in any capitalist country and in the most varied branches of industry. The capitalists in cassocks wield the textile industry in France, forestry in Canada, metallurgical, electro-technical and chemical industry in the US, mining in

Spain, tin industry in Bolivia, rubber and textile in Brazil, and so forth. The dealers of the Catholic Church are not squeemish about the sources of their income. They invest their capital in the community corporations of large and small towns, movies, brothels, and gambling houses. In this way the Vatican and its organizations compile huge capital exceeding 30 billion dollars.

The "Holy Church" gathers its capital like a miser, who, while enjoying a profit of millions, nevertheless does not shy away from the small change. The Church did not renounce its ancient incomes: "The penny of St. Peter," donations, dues for the performance of its religious services, incomes from the thaumaturgic icons and relics, and from fabrications of miracles and new saints. Of the latter, Pope Pius XII created up to 50 a year. The Vatican has a monopoly on the publication of church books, stamps picturing the saints, etc. The Vatican telegraph has a special office which, for a stated price, delivers blessing in the Pope's name to newly weds and the sick and dying, absolutions, and the last guiding words.

The national churches (French, Spanish, Canadian, and others) are also big capitalists. For example, the property of the Catholic Church of the USA is valued at several billion dollars and its yearly income exceeds 800 billion dollars.

Why does the Catholic Church need such fabulous riches? Its governors answer: to help the poor and support the Vatican and its apparatus. However, the facts point to other things. The philanthropic activities are delegated to the "Papal commission of aid," but it has its own budget and its own income. The lion's share of the monies intended for the cashier's office of the Vatican finds its way to the Vatican's leaders. Numerous cardinals receive "wages" of hundred-thousand dollars a year and they receive in addition about 25,000 dollars for "Cardinals' board." The bishops, archbishops, patriarchs, and other leading persons receive similarly round sums. The rank-and-file clergy is supported by the faithful or the government and sometimes live rather skimpily.

The church leaders spend huge sums on the ideological war and on subversive and spy activities against the socialist camp and against the revolutionary movement and the advance of science.

Contemporary Catholicism is thus a huge capitalist organization, having close connections with the world monopolies, and an imperialist system. The socio-

economic, ideological, and political interests of the lay and ordained capitalists are rather close. For them the revolutionary movement, socialism, and democracy are all enemies. Therefore, it is now impossible to fight imperialism without at the same time fighting contemporary Catholicism.

### III. CATHOLIC ORGANIZATIONS

There are now quite a few religious and Christian organizations. However, neither the Orthodox nor the Protestant churches can compete with the Catholic Church in influence over the political affairs of the world. This is in the least explainable by religious teachings, since they differ very little from the teachings of the Protestant and the Orthodox churches. The Catholic Church is the largest, the richest, the best organized and, at the same time, the most reactionary religious force. It is a known fact that the Catholic Church has about 400 million members (out of 800 million Christians). One encounters its branches in all parts of the world. At the same time, it rules from one spot -- the Vatican -- which is headed by the Pope, who possesses an uncontested authority and power. For constant pressure on the masses the Church has at its disposal numerous, experienced and well-trained regiments (about 400,000 priests and teachers and about a million monks). The Vatican wields a huge (in relation to its size) apparatus of propaganda; it has at the same time dozens of radio stations and publishing houses, thousands of newspapers, magazines and schools, hundreds of colleges, etc. All these organizations have but one goal -- to strengthen the influence of the church on its faithful and turn them into an obedient tool of its policies.

The Church unites Catholics through educational, sports, and other clubs. Besides these, there are also numerous other specialty organizations such as workers' farmers', womens' youth, and childrens' organizations, unions of teachers, doctors, writers, and artists; etc. In Italy, for example, there are about 850 types of religious and Church-dependent organizations. "Church aid" and philanthropic associations are very numerous. A special organ of the Catholic Church, called "The Catholic Movement," unites and coordinates the activities of all Catholic organizations. This association originated in the second half of the 19th Century and still functions both on local and national levels.

In Italy, the organizations of "The Catholic Movement" are composed of up to three million members (Mainly youngsters, women, and children); in Spain it has 350,000 members. The activities of this organization are quite varied. Its spokesmen advise parents on the upbringing of their children; circulate Catholic literature; advocate religious art; speak against the socialist reformers; engage in espionage and sabotage, provocations and murders, denunciations and falsifications; etc. In Spain, Austria, and the Federal Republic of Germany they are connected with fascist and the revancheist organizations. In France the Catholic lads raid Communist party organizations.

During the ever-growing class struggle in the bourgeois society, the Church stands firmly on the side of the exploiters. This becomes most evident at the time of elections into parliaments and other organs of government. Leaning on its numerous organizations, the Catholic top brass exerts all its efforts to insure the victory of its candidates. At the time of the last elections for the Italian parliament, the Vatican press, "Osservatore Romano", wrote: "The priests should explain to the faithful not only that they are likely to be excommunicated if they vote for the left parties, but also the consequences of such excommunication -- eternal damnation, the last judgment, and the death of the soul, which is much worse than the suffering and death of the body." At the same time they are shamelessly reminded that if they vote for the left candidates, they are likely to lose their jobs. Considering the fact that Italy has two million unemployed, such a threat spells very real earthly suffering.

The Catholic unions and political parties are in a somewhat peculiar situation. The Catholic political groups began to form back in the 19th Century, but they did not reach their seize and influence until the First World War. This took place in connection with the crisis of the revolution and bankruptcy of the many middle-class parties. Leaning on the support of the most reactionary circles of the bourgeoisie, the clerical parties came to power in such highly developed countries as Germany, Austria, and Belgium, which at that time were going through an internal crisis. At the same time, the Catholic parties began to emerge in several other countries -- Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Latvia.

The main purpose of these parties was to fight with the revolutionary movements and socialism.

When fascism began to emerge onto the political arena, the Catholic parties either became fascist (Spain, Portugal, and Austria) or paved the road to power for the fascists (Italy and Germany).

After the Second World War, as a result of the fact that many middle-class political organizations lost the confidence of the people and people's democracies appeared in a number of countries, the reaction again turned for help to the "Holy Church." And again the Catholic parties, which demagogically promised the people social reforms, peace, and all kinds of "blessing," appeared on the scene. However, once they were at the wheel of power, the Catholic parties of Italy, France, West Germany, and other countries immediately began to exert all their efforts to split the workers' unity which came about during the war against fascism; they wanted to isolate the Communists from the masses and "clean" them out of government offices, unions, and other organizations; cut down democratic freedoms; and reinforce the positions of the monopolistic capital. The ruling Catholic parties became the pathfinders in politics for the American imperialists.

Illustrating the role of the Catholic parties in the contemporary middle class society, Palmiro Togliatti wrote that it was far from a matter of chance that the Catholic parties were the last administrators of the capitalist stage of confusion and degeneration.<sup>5</sup> These parties are ready for anything to keep the world of poverty and oppression which humanity is destined to destroy. Adroitly wielding its social demagoguery the Catholic organizations strive by any means to fool the workers. They pretend to be "the third power," which supposedly fights both capitalism and communism alike for "a just society." How it is in reality can be seen by an example of the German Christian Democratic Union (CDU), headed by Konrad Adenauer. On 1 January 1947 addressing the German people worn out by the war and fascist dictatorship, Adenauer assured them: "We consent to have our country completely disarmed, to have our military industry destroyed ... to follow the example of Switzerland to be neutral ..." But what happened in 13 years? The military industry of the Ruhr monopolists works at full speed. The Bundeswehr is reinstated and is supplied with atomic weapons. The FRG (Federal Republic of Germany), which is directed by the CDU is the most active champion of the "cold war" and the most active enemy of a peace



treaty with Germany. The revolutionary organizations are forced underground and in their stead flourish the revenge-minded, militaristic and fascist organizations. In 1960, the very same Adenauer at a reception by Pope John XXIII asked for blessings for the German people on whom, according to him, God bestowed high mission to "save Europe." The papers announced that even the Pope was stunned by such looseness of the chancellor -- it reeked mightily strongly of the late Hitler.

An activity similar to that of the "Christian Democrats" can be seen in Italy which, with the help of these "democrats," America turned into her rocket range. The activity of the Catholic Party MRP (People's Republican Movement) of France is essentially the same.

The Vatican, together with the churches and political organizations it directs, has all along stubbornly supported and continues to support the "cold war" policy which is so repulsive to the people. They fight all efforts to "thaw" the relationships between the capitalist and socialist countries and they campaign against the idea of coexistence. It would seem that more than any one else the Christian organizations, who are forever repeating the love of one's neighbor, should at least not interfere with this movement of the socialist countries, not to mention supporting it. However, in reality, things are just the opposite. It worried the Vatican no end when, in 1955, after the Four Power Conference in Geneva, there was a slight softening in international relations. Its organ "Civiltà Cattolica" wrote: "Coexistence is an utopia which can lull the West. This spacing of events is a dangerous illusion..." Pope Pius XII included in "The index of banned books" the Hungarian, Polish, and Czechoslovak periodicals and newspapers which stood for coexistence and cooperation of all the Catholics with the socialist camp.

Reactionary Catholicism meets with bayonets every step taken by the USSR in the direction of world coexistence. In 1959, in much the same spirit the Catholic organizations of America waged a mad lying campaign against the visit of N.S. Khrushchev to the US and diminished in all ways the beneficial results of such a visit. In 1960, they waged the same campaign in Italy against the visit of her "Christian Democrat" President D. Gronchi to Moscow.



The declarations for peace which he made in the USSR brought the displeasure of the church hierarchy on the President, as one of the members of the College of Cardinals shamelessly declared.

In 1960, the voyage of N.S. Khrushchev to France was coldly and even hostilely received by the French clerical press. The Catholic papers exerted all efforts to cool the enthusiasm of the French and to persuade them not to give the high representative of the USSR their warm and hearty reception. In Dijon the Catholic leaders allowed themselves an indecency bordering on provocation. The mayor of Dijon, Canon Kir /transliterated from Russian/ courageous participant in the two world wars against the German occupations, who repeatedly advocated closer ties between France and the Soviet Union, declared that he would like to meet N.S. Khrushchev. However, when the Soviet Premier arrived in Dijon, he was met by the mayor's assistant. Canon Kir, the reporters said, was "kidnapped." The clerical leaders and the Archbishop of France (with the Vatican's knowledge) absolutely forbade Kir to meet the Soviet guest personally on the grounds that he was a Communist. Nevertheless, his assistant presented N.S. Khrushchev with a written greeting from Kir and a cup as a symbol of friendship. In his missive, Canon Kir greeted N.S. Khrushchev as a fighter for peace and opposer of "the cold war," which, according to the mayor, "is an expensive proposition to the whole world and yields nothing to anybody." In his replying speech N.S. Khrushchev thanked the mayor of Dijon heartily for his gift, his greeting, and his noble work for world peace.<sup>6</sup>

It must be said in favor of France that public opinion condemned this behavior of the princes of the church, as an intrusion into the internal and diplomatic affairs of the country. Wrote the *Le Monde* regarding the "case of the Canon Kir": "The resistance of the several circles in the Vatican to the growth of contacts between the East and the West indicates... that a certain part of the servants of the church ... long for the 'cold war'."<sup>7</sup>

Among the workers, the Catholic Church has its massive propaganda apparatus in the form of Christian unions or Catholic groups within regular unions. The various Catholic unions make up the national centers: Christian Association of the Italian Workers which, in 1955, could count almost a million members; the French Confederation of Christian Workers, which is

composed of almost 300,000 members; and others. The national union centers form the International Federation of Christian Unions. In 1953, the unions which are in the IFCU had about six million members.

Those joining these Catholic unions are mainly the backward, unspecialized categories of workers and also the intelligensia (teachers, doctors, pharmacists, artists, etc.) The activity of these unions is directed by the Jesuits, and on-the-spot direction is administered by the bishops and parish priests. The main activity of these Catholic unions is the prevention of strikes and, in case they do occur, these "yellow" unions even supply the capitalists with strikebreakers.

The Catholic top brass actively campaign against the unity of the labor union movement, explaining their behavior away by saying that it does not behoove for the "good Christians" to be together with the godless communists. It is for this schism in the labor movement that the bourgeoisie values the Catholic unions and the church leaders.

The Catholic Church makes all efforts to organize its propaganda among the workers in general and also directly on the job. Thus, in 1944, the Pope decided to experiment by allowing the Archbishop of Paris to send young Catholic priests of France to the factories. There, in the capacity of simple workers, they worked in the interests of reconciling class contradictions and cooperating with management. The main purpose of this propaganda was to counteract the influence on the workers of communist ideas, in order, according to the Archbishop, to take away from the Communists their monopoly on the souls of the workers. In reality, quite the opposite happened. Many of the priests themselves became contaminated with communist ideas. Together with the workers they started to fight for the interests of the working class, participating actively in strikes and anti-military demonstrations, and some even joined the Communist Party. In 1953, the Vatican decided to terminate that unsuccessful experiment. The directive brought about a protest from the "worker-priests." Seventy-three such priests of Paris wrote in their declaration of 1954 that at the time when the workers "strive for unity in order to guarantee a piece of bread and the freedom of the world, the religious leaders create such conditions which force them to abandon this fight which they wage in solidarity with all their comrades" (i.e. workers.)

Therefore, all the activities of the Catholic organizations, and especially the parties which are

directed to strengthening the union of the Catholic Church with the bourgeoisie, are witness to the fact that it has common interests with capital and is hostile to the cause of the workers -- peace and socialism.

In analyzing the activities of Catholic organizations it is necessary to remember that there is a significant difference between its rank-and-file members and the leaders, especially in the questions of tactics. Where the former are prone to support the unity of action with proletarian organizations, the latter support the capitalists in all possible ways. Before the workers, especially the "holy Church" publicly denies any connection with the capitalists, any dependence on the bourgeoisie, and in all ways tries to emphasize that it is a church of the poor, of the workers. However, its actions testify to the contrary.

#### IV. CATHOLICISM AND THE COLONIAL SYSTEM

From time immemorial the conversion into the Christian faith has always been regarded by the Catholic Church as its most honored activity. In this way, it must be remembered, "God's glory" is increased, political influence grows and, most important ... so does the income of the Church. Both the Catholic priests and the monks acquired an unsurpassed facility in that respect. Even way back in feudal times the priest marched together with the knight or merchant and more often in front of them. The capitalist era opened boundless new possibilities for the missionary activities of the Catholic Church. In the remote, inaccessible countries the missionaries studied the economics, political structures, native habits, and languages, playing in fact the role of scouts. They were followed by the merchants and finally by the soldiers, who usually finished the process of enslaving one or another nation. The Jesuits hold the cup in that field. In Mexico they seized the best lands, and in Paraguay they even created their own church government which, between 1610 and 1768, held the native Indians in physical and spiritual slavery. Their insidiousness helped the Belgian King, Leopold II, in his time to enslave the Congo; the French capitalists to enslave Madagascar and Indochina; and the English -- Rhodesia. For a while the Jesuits had a strong hold in Syria and Lebanon.

Having high regard for the Catholic missionaries, the colonial powers in their treaties with the dependent countries made their immunity from law and freedom of action a condition (as it was, for example, in China), since they cooperated in strengthening the colonial man's suffering on earth and non-opposition to evil. The Catholic Church was trying to educate in these native peoples a slavish humility to the white man, blind respect to his "higher culture," and despicion of their own national culture. Behind the "culture carrying" activities of the missionaries (the opening of schools, hospitals, hostelryes, etc.) lurked the desire to help the colonialists in their robberies and enslavment of the people. V. I. Lenin wrote in 1900 that the colonists of China "hypocritically concealed the policy of plunder by spreading Christianity."<sup>8</sup>

Since the time when the Catholic Church merged with world imperialism and became its accomplice in the plunder of the colonial nations, while keeping them in subjection, its missionary activities grew considerably stronger and assumed quite diverse forms. According to data of 1953, there were in various countries about 27,000 missions in which there were about 20,000 priests, 50,000 monks, and more than 140,000 so-called "teachers."

The Christian missionaries often take part in spying and sometimes also in subversive activities. In their colleges and universities they educate the local bourgeoisie and clergy, the traitors of the people, unite the reactionaries and support the rotting anti-people regimes.

The national liberation movement in the colonies made the position of the Catholic Church quite difficult. The Church can not openly declare itself against the movement and in favor of imperialism, for fear of unveiling itself forever. However, it exerts all efforts to help the local reaction (cliques of Chian Kai-shek in China, Ngo Dinh Diem in Vietnam, etc.)

Referring to the "universal" character of the Holy Church, the Vatican and its missions propose cosmopolitan theories as their answer to the national liberation movements. In all possible ways they try to instill the idea in the simple people that "independence does not bring plenty" and that it is "futile to expect an improvement in the food supply for the people" from the agrarian reforms which will take away the best land from the foreign capitalist colonists.

As the only way out from this difficult situation of the colonial peoples the missionaries suggest the strengthening of faith in the Christian God and perfection of their personal religious morality.

The Vatican missionary activity (especially in the last decades) is being more and more determined by the interests of the imperialistic circles of the US. The Catholic Church of the US has in its colonies more than 3,000 missionaries. They used to congregate especially in India and the Philippines. The Vatican receives its largest loans from the US. Remember the folk wisdom: "Obedience to him who feeds." And the Catholic missionaries are obedient. They will do anything to make it clear to the colonial people that their enemy is not imperialism but Communism.

#### V. VATICAN IN ITS FIGHT AGAINST THE SOCIALIST CAMP

After the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, which opened a new era in the history of man, the era of Communism, all the reactionary black forces, including the Catholic Church, took up arms against the young Soviet Republic. For example, the Vatican supported the intervention of the Tsarist Poles. Achille Ratti (from 1922 Pope Pius XI), representative of the Vatican in Poland, was the inspirer of this anti-soviet expedition. Obeying his orders, the Catholic clergy of the Soviet Union helped the spies and saboteurs and spread all kinds of counterrevolutionary gossip. The representative of the Vatican in Germany, Pacelli (later Pope Pius XII), took an active part in the reactionaries' conspiracies against the German revolutionaries and also sent spies into the Soviet Union.

In 1921, the Volga region had a bad drought and a famine. The Vatican, together with the other imperialist forces, under the guise of aid to the hungry, created in our country a nest of conspirators and spies. In 1924, the Soviet Union was forced to terminate this activity of the Pope's mission.

In 1922, at a conference of the powers in Genoa, the Vatican asked them not to recognize Soviet Russia and not to enter into any relationship with her; in 1930, Pius XI declared a "crusade" against the USSR. For several weeks the Church waged a mad campaign of lies in its temples, schools, and press against the Bolsheviks and socialism. One of the most active

participants of this crusade was the Catholic clergy of Galicia, with Bishop Sheptitskiy at the head.

Hoping that the capitalist countries would take a stand against the land of the Soviets in the most immediate future, the Pope cared as well he could for the White Russian emigrees. In 1923, the Vatican organized an "Eastern Institute" to study the possibilities of spreading Catholicism to the East. In 1929, they opened a seminary (attached to the Institute) for the White Tsarist gang -- the "Russians" -- where they trained priest-spies for subsequent planting in the Soviet Union.

The Vatican did not terminate its struggle against the revolutionary labor movement, either. Catholic reaction, guided by the Popes (the Popes changed but their policies regarding the revolutionary movements did not), hurried everywhere to the aid of the bourgeoisie.

In Italy, after the First World War, there was a dangerous situation for the bourgeoisie. The class struggle reached a high peak there -- the peasants confiscated the land in a revolutionary manner and the workers their factories. Following the directives of the Vatican and with its aid, a priest named Luigi Sturcio (?) organized a Catholic "people's" party. It gave out demagogic promises freely to the workers to make them fight for the Vatican's interests. In this way the Catholic party was able to attract considerable masses of the workers and thus weaken the pressure of the revolutionary forces.

In 1922, the Vatican helped Mussolini snatch power in his hands. The "people's party," with Gasparri at its head, began openly to cooperate with the Fascists. In return for that, the Fascist government agreed to reinstate the Papal government which was dissolved in 1870, and also to pay the Pope 1,750 million lira as compensation. In essence, it was an agreement between church and state.

Grateful Pius XI told the Italian people that Mussolini was "providence sent." However, the Italians had their own opinions about it. In 1945, they hung this "heavenly messenger" on a high tree -- head down besides.

The Catholic Church aided the Italo-German interventionists and in 1936/39, the Spanish Fascists, in their struggle against Republican Spain. When, after the Second World War, the governments of several European countries, yielding to the pressure of the peoples' wrath, were forced to sever their political

ties with Franco's government for his support of Mussolini and Hitler, the Vatican remained faithful to him and even granted him its highest honor -- the gold chain order of Jesus, first degree. Franco's regime merited the title of "the citadel of the Catholic faith."

In Germany, just as in Italy, the Catholic Church aided the most reactionary forces. From 1918 to 1933, the Catholic party ("Center") was the leading party of the German bourgeoisie. Having been frightened by the growth of the revolutionary movement in the country, it helped Hitler come to power. In March 1933, the leader of the "Center" party, the priest Haas, following the orders of the Vatican, declared in the parliament that the Catholic party "stretches out its hand to the Fascists in the name of the rescue of the nation," i.e., the rescue of the bourgeoisie from the workers. The Vatican was the first government to recognize Hitler's regime and to conclude a concordat with him in 1933. At times there were small disagreements between Hitler and the Vatican but they were easily removed because the latter, in the name of their common goal -- the fight against the revolutionary movement, the fight against the USSR -- was willing to concede anything. It was thought in the Vatican that as a result of the outmoded principles of their regimes, the democratic powers could not effectively wage this struggle; only the open terrorist fascist clique can tackle it effectively. The Jesuit slogan "the end justifies the means" holds true in the Catholic Church even today.

In order to create a strong front against the USSR and weaken the opposing tendencies, the Vatican exerted pressure on Catholic Czechoslovakia and Poland, demanding from them concessions to fascist Germany.

At the time of the Fascist occupation of a part of Soviet territory, Catholic missionaries, supported by the occupation forces, tried to spread Catholicism among the Soviet people. Quite a few Catholic and Uniate priests in Latvia and the western parts of the Ukraine and Belorussia cooperated with the Gestapo.

When the fascists occupied L'vov, a volley of letters came from Bishop Sheptitskiy, who lived on Svyatoyurskiy Mt., the age old residency of the Uniate priests; these missives were to the faithful, calling them to work from morning till night for the Hitlerites in order to supply these invaders with bread, fat, meat, and sugar. And when Hitler asked for cannon



fodder, they created a division called "SS-Galicia."

After the defeat of Germany, the Vatican helped the cutthroats of Bendera enact their evil deeds in the Western Ukraine. Through terror and monstrous murders these Bendera men tried to halt the process of socialization in this land. Many honest people perished by the bloody hand of Bendera's murderers. Among them were the initiator of abolition of the union with the Vatican -- a priest by the name of Kostel'nik; a fiery opponent of the Vatican, a talented Ukrainian, and Soviet writer -- Yaroslav Galan, who, with the most wrathful word, fought for the bright and happy life of the workers, exposed the Ukrainian middle class nationalists and raised his impetuous journalist's voice against the "father of darkness" -- Pope Pius XII, the faithful servant of American imperialism.

The defeat in the Second World War of the fascist usurpers, the growth of the revolutionary-democratic and national-liberating movements, the widening of the activities of the Communist and workers' parties in the countries of Europe -- all this greatly undermined the positions of the Vatican. There occurred in the countries of central and south eastern Europe national-democratic regimes. The wide growth of the fight for peace, democracy and socialism in the whole world at first caused the Vatican some confusion. However, it did not last long. The Anglo-American imperialists, taking upon themselves the role of organizers of world reaction, opened before the Vatican many new possibilities for its fight with the revolutionary-liberating movements of the workers.

Soon after the end of the war, US President Truman, in his letter to Pope Pius XII, asked him to reinforce his fight against the progressive forces of the world and to help conquer the mistrust of the peoples of Europe for the "Marshall Plan". The Pope gave a favorable answer and the press and organizations of the Vatican began to wage widespread propaganda in the desired direction. In this way the Vatican's union with the fascist bloc was changed to that of the American imperialists.

In the Vatican they all understood very well that cooperation with the imperialists of the US, who are striving for world domination and the Third World War, ~~phrases the Vatican higher leadership underlines in many of its~~ monopolistic companies; 80% of all the Vatican's income is from the US and Canada. Most important, however, is the fact that the direction of US foreign policy, which is aimed at fostering the flames of war against



the Soviet Union and the countries of the people's democracies, most closely corresponds to the reactionary tendencies of the Vatican itself.

In Washington, in its turn, this cooperation with the Vatican is valued quite highly. This new ally-servant possesses the great means of influencing the masses and the experience in leading spying and subversive ventures. When, in 1949, the American imperialists created the aggressive North-Atlantic Pact, which is directed against the Soviet Union and the countries of the people's democracies, the Pope blessed it and, in his letter to the clergy, asked the faithful to close the ranks in the "crusade" against the socialist countries.

In West Germany the Vatican has especially great influence. It is a known fact that in the southern and western parts of Germany there are many Catholics; in certain parts of Bavaria, for example, they even constitute a majority. Here, the Vatican has its old religious and party organizations. In 1953, at the time of the elections to the Bundestag, the Pope donated 1.5 million lira for the campaign in favor of Adenauer and his party.

The Catholic party is the ruling party in Germany; it decides her fate. It gave birth to the Bundeswehr, it dragged the Federal Republic of Germany into NATO, it stands against a peace treaty with Germany, and actively supports the "cold war."

The black forces of the Catholic Church are especially unyielding in their insistence on unity of action against the countries of the people's democracies. This is quite understandable. Only a short while ago these countries were the recipients of US capital, and the servants of the Vatican waged freely their reactionary activities here. Now Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, and other countries of the socialist camp, together with the USSR, make up a powerful stronghold of peace and democracy. In their crafty activity against these countries, the reaction leans on the remnants of the exploiting classes in them, on the individual counterrevolutionary elements which were especially active in the first years after the war.

To ease the work of the reaction against the socialist countries, the Vatican issued an edict in 1949, with which it excommunicated from the Church all Communists and all those who supported them. Catholics are forbidden to become members of those organizations which are guided by Communists, to read Marxist literature, and to obey any Communist government.

However, the working people upset all the plans and calculations of their enemies. Thus, in Hungary, with Cardinal Mindszenty at its head, the Catholic Church and the national-democratic party fought against the establishment of a republic in that country, against the handing of the land back to the peasants, and the nationalization of the banks, factories and railroads. Having failed, Mindszenty, with the help of the US, organized a conspiracy in favor of Habsburgs, who once ruled over Austro-Hungary. When the conspiracy was discovered, the Vatican was in a hurry to clamour to the whole world that Mindszenty "suffered for his faith." At an open trial, however, Mindszenty confessed everything and condemned his sabotaging activity.

Two years later, another conspiratory organization stepped before the people's court; this time with Archbishop Joseph Greys at its head. Its member, Franc Vezer, the former father superior of the Sentklutzki Monastery organized a band of kulaks which committed terroristic acts. He confessed at the trial: "I, as a priest, incited the faithful against the Soviet army, preaching to them to kill the soldiers. After a murder I used to invite the murderer to church for confession to absolve him from his sins. I, myself, was always armed and often shot at the Soviet soldiers; One I killed. Quite a few we shot, strangled ..." As you can see this "holy father" could wield the cross, the prayer, and the revolver with equal facility.

In October 1956, at the time of the Hungarian counterrevolutionary uprising, which was provoked by American intelligence, the Vatican was on the spot. on 3 November, Mindszenty asked the people to liquidate the democratic regime in the country, to reinstate "the holy" private ownership of land, factories, banks, and railroads, to return to the "Holy Church" its lands, etc. The capitalists greeted Mindszenty's declaration, forecasting that in the very near future he would be heading the government of the restored capitalist system. After the defeat of the counter-revolution in Hungary, Cardinal Mindszenty was forced to seek shelter in the US Embassy from the wrath of the people.

In Poland, as in other countries occupied during the war, the Catholic clergy and mainly its top brass (Bishops Adamski, Kachmarek, and others) cooperated with Hitler's administration. When the Soviet army liberated Poland and the people took the reins of power into their hands, the Catholic clergy was against

all the measures of the people's regime. In the parliamentary elections it supported Mikolaychik /transliterated from Russian/, who was the protoge of Great Britain and the US, and his party, the Polish People's Majority. In his efforts to deal a blow at the polls to the progressive forces, the Pope sent a proclamation to the Polish people in which he condemned the politics of the people's regime. However, Mikolaychik's party suffered a defeat, and with it the plans of the imperialists to bring back to Poland the middle class regime. The former US Ambassador to Poland, Stanton Griffith, wrote in his memoirs that "The United States and Great Britain staked their hopes on Mikolaychik and his party," regarding him as "our man."

However, the Polish reaction did not put down their arms even after having suffered a defeat. From the pulpits the reactionaries in their cassocks spread lies about the activities of the people's regime, and fabricated "miracles" in order to create a religious psychosis which they intended to utilize for their own cunning purposes. The churches were turned into arsenals and recruiting centers and the monasteries into asylums for the bandits and spies of the various counterrevolutionary organizations.

The subversive activity of the Catholic clergy in Poland did not stop even after 1950 when, under the pressure of the working Catholics, the Bishopric was forced to sign an agreement with the government in which it agreed to combat all misuses of religious feelings directed toward anti-national ends. This continued even after 1953, when the high clergy swore allegiance to the people's republic. The evidence for this is the fact that in October 1956, the clerics, taking advantage of the temporary difficulties in the governing of the country, openly began to bring into the schools and government offices crosses, ikons, and other objects of the cult. In the schools they began to persecute the progressive teachers and students who refused to attend religious instruction classes. The head of the Catholic Church, Archbishop Vishinski, took a stand against land, school, and other government reforms. The underground press in the Czestochowa Monastery, the residence of Vishinski, issued anti-government pamphlets until not too long ago. Until 1959, it was considered in the Vatican that an ambassador to Poland was a person nominated by the government of Pilsudski.

The Catholic reaction in Czechoslovakia was no less active. In the February days of 1948, the Catholic parties together with the national socialist party of Benes took part in an effort to overturn the government. However, the workers successfully defended their national regime. In 1949, the higher clergy under the leadership of Papal Nuncio Verolino tried to incite the faithful against the government. The Catholic big-wigs of Czechoslovakia cooperated for a long time with the underground bandits and with the Ukrainian Bendera men.

The activity of the Catholic reaction in Rumania and Bulgaria was significantly weaker than in Hungary, Poland, and Czechoslovakia. Its organizations here were not numerous.

The agents of the Vatican carried on their dirty work in China also. After the Second World War the Vatican organized the so-called "National" Catholic Church of China with its corresponding hierarchy. It was headed by a Chinese Cardinal from Nanking, Bishop Tien. Archbishop Antonio Riberi, who was appointed the papal internuncio, put the whole apparatus of the Catholic Church at the service of the commandos and imperialist governments. In 1946, there were a 100,000 missionaries to three million faithful. When, under the leadership of the Communist Party, the Chinese people banished the corrupt clique of these commandos and their foreign patrons from their home land, these "Christian" institutions became the nests of banditism, espionage, provocation, and hostile agitation against the Chinese People's Republic.

Making good use of his diplomatic immunity, the Vatican's representative to China, Riberi, created the underground organizations designed to fight against People's China under harmless and even religious names: "The Salvation Army," "Army of the Mother of God," "Society for Aid to Government Construction," etc. These organizations stored weapons, mines and grenades, and organized military detachments. The Catholic conspirators were preparing assassinations of the People's Government leaders, including Comrade Mao Tse tung.

In 1951, in Peipin, a large Vatican band of agents was brought before the court. At the trial it was brought out that in their numerous mission orphanages and schools the Jesuits systematically killed Chinese children and participated in espionage. The people's court punished the plotters and the Vatican's protoge, Riberi, was forced out of China.

The activity of the Catholic missions in Vietnam was very similar. At the time of the national liberating fight of the Vietnamese people against the French colonists, the missionaries helped the foreign imperialists and, after the Geneva decision to end the war, they incited the believers to move south from the northern democratic regions. In documents published in Hanoi there is the case of the Catholic priest from Gu Tan village, who said during his sermon, that soon there will be ships to take away all the believers together with church property. He was telling the faithful: "If you stay here you will be excommunicated from the Church and will lose God and religion." The clergyman just about declared that Christ and the Virgin Mary had arrived in southern Vietnam and would like all the Catholics to go there. It was suggested to the Vietnamese Catholics that they hurry or else they might miss the Mother of God.

The facts of history are witness, therefore, that the lawful desire of the workers to be the bosses of their fate always has, and does, meet with the cruel opposition of the exploiting classes. In their fight against the masses of the people they lean on the aid of the foreign imperialists and freely speculate with the religious faiths.

## VI. THE VATICAN -- ENEMY OF PEACE

The workers of the entire world never wanted and do not want war. It is understandable. War destroys the material wealth created by their labor; they are the ones who have to pay for the huge expense of the war; and they perish in time of war as the soldiers of the fighting army.

After the First World War the hatred of the workers for human butchery reached such a high degree that the frightened bourgeoisie of all nations pompously assured the soldiers that there will be no more wars. But, in 1939, the Second World War began. Of course, it could not be otherwise. The imperialist vultures cannot but fight among themselves over the division of their booty.

It became, therefore, the lot of the working class to solve an historical problem of not only doing away with the exploitation of man by man, but also of freeing all mankind from war. Obviously, in the countries where rule belongs to the workers nobody is interested in starting wars. They are the most

peace-loving countries on earth.

However, the imperialists, having no chance of victory in peaceful competition with the socialist camp, stake everything on the increase in international tension and the outbreak of armed conflicts. With their help they hope to change the course of historical development of mankind, to liquidate socialism in those countries where it exists, and to gain world dominance.

In order to divert the attention of the nations from the fight for their national and social liberation, and to conceal from them the arms race, the imperialists and their accomplices spread the old tales about the aggressiveness of "world communism." The whole world knows, however, of the peace-loving policies of the USSR and other countries of the socialist commonwealth. The Soviet government, systematically following Lenin's idea of peaceful coexistence of countries with different socio-economic systems, has been and is persistent in proposing to the great powers the signing of a Peace pact, decreasing the armed forces and arms, outlawing the atomic bomb together with its testing, creating a non-atomic zone in Central Europe, signing a peace treaty with Germany, and finally introducing universal disarmament.

These peace-loving propositions of the Soviet Union are supported with enthusiasm by the countries of the people's democracies and the workers of all the capitalist countries of the world. Evidence of this is a list of hundreds of millions of signatures which the workers put many times to a petition of the International Organization of Fighters for Peace. However, disregarding the longing of the people for a permanent and firm peace, the imperialist circles of the western countries continue their aggressive policies directed toward the starting of the Third World War. The Vatican helps them actively in this.

The Vatican tries to cover up its anti-national activities by religious and "peace-loving" words. The late Pope Pius XII found frequent occasions to touch upon the questions of peace in his missives and even to propose "means" of safeguarding it. But behind his peace-loving words lurked the face of the most cunning instigators of war, who speculated in the religious feelings of Catholics. In 1950, Pope Pius XII openly blessed the aggressive war of the American imperialists in Korea, who did not hesitate to use bacteriological weapons against the Korean people. In 1950, at a reception for Mr. O'Kelly, President of

the Irish Republic, the Pope assured his esteemed guest that Communism shall be destroyed and that it will take place during his life time. However, history played a cruel joke on him --- Pius XII died, but Communism still flourishes.

Acting against the natural inclinations of the people to seek peace, the Vatican forbade Catholics to take any part in the great movement of the friends of peace. He began to persecute those priests and Catholic leaders who supported the people's fight for peace. The Vatican, for example, deprived a famous Italian abbe, Andrea Gadjero (?), of his right to perform the church services; the same thing happened to the Paris abbe, Bullon (?) and many other servants of the church for their activities in favor of the peace. Quite a few Catholic leaders were excommunicated from the "Christian" parties for their solidarity with the fighters for peace. Meanwhile, the Vatican has not yet condemned even one cleric, not to speak of the imperialist governments, for their advocacy of war and atomic-weapons testing. On the Vatican's order the Bishops of Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, and Rumania not only refused to sign the Stockholm Appeal of the World Peace Council which was signed by 500 million people, but also forbade their subject priests and all believers to do the same. Only under the pressure of the believing workers were they forced to lift that prohibition and sign it themselves. Being deprived of the possibility of openly advocating war, Pope Pius XII stood against disarmament. In a Christmas address of 1951, he persuaded the faithful that "material disarmament is an illusion."

In order to divert Catholics from fighting for peace and to split that movement, the Catholic Church created its own "organization of peace," under the slogan of "peace of Christ," the members of which are called upon not to fight for peace but to pray to God for its miraculous delivery. The Vatican called for peace many times, but only by way of unifying the Catholic countries against the socialist camp.

When the faithful turned to the Pope with a petition to head them in a request to ban the atomic bomb, the Pope declared hypocritically that such an act would be an intrusion of the church into secular affairs. The Vatican's argument, however, convinces no one. Under the pressure of the people's masses, the individual representatives of the clergy



even began to raise their voices against war. The people were so outraged by the Pope's hypocrisy that in 1954 and again in 1955 he was forced to say that he was in favor of banning atomic and hydrogen weapons. In the following years the Pope was forced to come out with similar declarations many times to convince the faithful that he is indeed a "Peacemaker."

In reality, the Pope as the leader of the Vatican approves of war, as his position at the time of the attack of the aggressors on Egypt in December 1956 testifies.

Pius XII announced many times that he recognizes a "just" and "lawful" war, and even the use of atomic weapons against the socialist countries. In February 1959, at a session of the Catholic Academy in Wuerzburg (Bavaria), Jesuit Professor Grundlach announced that an atomic war does not contradict the principles of the Catholic Church and therefore can not be called immoral. Another "scholar," Professor of Theology Montzel from Munich declared that: "The concept 'I want to live' is immoral." He also said that West Germany's atomic armament and a war against the socialist camp fully "corresponds with Christian beliefs." These anti-human sermons -- which are, by the way, not infrequently repeated -- were never officially denied by Vatican circles.

The Catholic organizations, and especially their leaders and parties, appear everywhere as the most active supporters of the arms race and as ferocious foes of peace. The ruling "Christian Democrats" Party in Italy bypassed the parliament and agreed to let the American imperialists install their long-range atomic rockets bases on Italian soil. Its leaders persecute those members who take part in the measures of the fighters for peace. The Adenauer government, "the Christian," is feverously arming its German revengists; it brought to court 35,000 young men and women of their country only because they took part in the fight for peace.

Hiding behind hypocritical phrases about the struggle for peace, the Vatican in reality tries to split the mighty front of peace, to slander it and, in that way, to divert the people's masses from it. The Vatican tries at any cost to keep its prestige in the eyes of the believers as a "peacemaker" and, thus, to keep its influence over them. However, the Vatican's labor pains are in vain; the movement for peace is unconquerable, and it grows stronger every day.



## VII. OBSCURANTISTS OF THE 20TH CENTURY

Having monopolized education and culture in the Middle Ages, the Church throttled all free thought and the insights of science and persecuted their carriers. To this end it created the Inquisition, censorship, the index (list of banned books), etc. In the following centuries one of the main purposes of the church was to obstruct the development of science and knowledge. And if today humanity has made such great progress, it is only because the "Holy Church" was not strong enough to halt the progress of knowledge. The interests of material production turned out to be stronger than the "Church fathers."

Today science enjoys everyone's respect in that it is helping the heavy labor of the worker and the peasant, and is opening for man possibilities to live better and plenty. Naturally, under these circumstances it is not advisable to take an open stand against science without risking alienation of a wide strata of the population. Therefore, the Catholic, Orthodox, Protestant, and Baptist churches proclaimed themselves to be the patrons and guardians of science. However, their goal has remained the same -- to obstruct the development of human knowledge.

From the end of the 19th Century, the Popes began to flirt with science and, in 1936, the Vatican organized its own "Academy of Science." In 1939 Pope Pius XII wrote in his programming address: "... faith is a friend of reason and therefore the church is a friend of science. The Church respects its freedom, its methods and principles and interferes only to guard it from mistakes against the faith." What mistakes? The Pope does not overlook them: "Long ago the Church condemned the various forms of Marxism and socialism and it condemns them now." This thought he had occasion to repeat. Thus, in his encyclical to the Asiatic missionaries, Pius XII insisted that the main aim of the Catholic Church is the fight against the "Godless" materialism and mistakes of Communist teaching.

In that way the Papal "Academy of Science" and a dozen other such academies, and also some 400 Catholic universities and institutes, are not for pushing the frontiers of science forward but for falsifying it.

The only scientific outlook, the basis of the future development of science is materialism and, therefore, the Church's fight against it is in reality

the fight against scientific progress.

The Church occupies a similar position of falsification with respect to literature and the arts. Censorship centers are created at the Vatican which endeavor to influence the activities of cinema, radio announcing, and television. Catholic propaganda agitates not only against socialist realism, but against realism per se and all its connections with the folk art. The Vatican obscurantists portray Victor Hugo, the great humanist and democrat, as a mystic and a "good Catholic." Boccaccio and Machiavelli were misrepresented in the same way. The works of the great Italian artist-humanists (Leonardo da Vinci, Anglice da Viasole, and others) were associated with the mysticism of the Dark Ages, which was foreign to them.

Thomas Aquinas, a theologian of the 12th Century, is now enjoying great popularity in Catholic circles. Quite a few reactionary middle-class scholars use his teachings as a guide. There is a whole school of philosophy -- "Neo-Thomists." This proves that for seven centuries Catholic philosophy has been chasing its own tail, unable to give humanity anything new, and continues to stir the dust in 700-year-old rubbish.

What then is so attractive for the reaction in this philosophy? Precisely the fact that it supports Catholic teachings, especially in the realm of human relations, and also that it decides the question of the relationships between science, knowledge and faith. According to Thomas Aquinas, there are two kinds of truths -- the truth of a lower order, which is achieved through reason; and the truth of a higher order, which is of a "supernatural" order and is achieved through faith with God's "revelation." Therefore, human reason is not boundless, but limited, since a number of laws and phenomena (including the relationship of man to God, the most common concepts of all natural laws, etc.) can not be grasped by reason because of its material limitation but it can be grasped by faith.

It is not difficult to see that this "philosophy" puts human reason below faith. Humanity, from its point of view, leans not on itself but on God, since the material serves the spiritual, the earthly serves the heavenly. "God's will" -- Thomas wrote one time, and the neo Thomists repeat now -- "is the cause of things. God acts of his own accord and not because of natural inevitability."

Such examples of utilization of medieval scholasticism by contemporary Catholicism can be produced in great quantity. All this shows what a deadend contem-

porary religion has found itself in. It is not surprising, however. Religion, it must be remembered, stems from a belief in the supernatural, in God, and science rejects all supernatural. Religion teaches that the short, earthly life, full of suffering, is given man so that he can earn "life eternal" for himself in the other world. Science, however, does not recognize life hereafter; it calls upon man to put his faith, not in God's mercy, but in his own strength to fare well here, on this earth, etc.

The recognized achievements of science caused religion quite a few worries. These days almost no one believes the dogma of the church about God's creating the world in "six days" and out of nothing besides. And if this is so, it means that the world will not be destroyed by God at the "last judgment," after which, according to the teaching of the Church, life eternal in heaven begins for the blessed and in hell for sinners. In order to save the prestige of its teaching the church was obliged to give some forced explanations. The theologians declared, for example, that one should not consider the biblical "day" the same as an ordinary day, as if to say that the "days" in those times were equal to whole eras, etc.

The advances of contemporary science disprove the biblical tall tales so convincingly that nothing is left of them and, most important, these advances excite man's reason, undermining his faith in God. For centuries the heavens were regarded as the sphere of Gods, unattainable for man; but those days have receded into eternity. Man learned to fly, and to shoot into orbit sputniks, cosmic rockets, and cosmic ships.

One of the ideologists of Catholicism wrote recently: "Both of the sputniks which are now circling the earth above us ... influence not man's reason alone. They penetrate into the depths of his soul and undermine it ... Man can no longer raise his eyes to heaven because these days man-made objects whirl around up there."

In order to calm the believers and the lower clergy, Osservatore Romano hurried out with "authoritative illucidation." The shooting of the Soviet sputniks, according to the Vatican, only testifies to the greatness of God, who so generously bestowed gifts upon his creation -- man -- and, therefore, the sputniks whirl in the heavens by "God's will." When asked how it happened that the first sputniks were fired by the Soviet people, who do not believe in God, and not by "good Catholics," the Vatican answered that

"God willed it so," and as is said in the bible, "God's ways are mysterious," i.e., human logic is not capable of grasping God's reasonings. Obviously, everything can be explained that way. But who is persuaded by this?

In our time, the popularity of science and its highest achievement -- Marxism-Leninism -- is so great, and its arguments so persuasive, that some neo-Thomists are even prone to use some isolated theses of its economic theory (on the role of labor in particular) for purposes of Church science. Of course, it is not an idle whim of the Church. It is worried by the people's desire for knowledge and true science.

In 1950, Pius XII, in his address to the faithful, said regretfully: "There are people today who strive for the new more than necessary ... The advocates of the new easily transcend from despising scholastic theory to insufficient respect for and even despicion of the leaders of the Church."

Well, a rather objective confession, but there is nothing to be done about it. The wheel of history can not be turned back.

#### VIII! NEW POPE -- OLD COURSE

In October 1958, (Eugenio Pacelli) Pope Pius XII died. He came from an old aristocratic family, whose members are some of the largest landowners and bankers in Italy. He devoted his whole life to the struggle against everything progressive, against the revolutionary movement, and against Communism, which he hated with all his being and nature. To this end he concluded pacts with and served the darkest of forces -- fascism and imperialism. He put himself, the Vatican, and the Catholic Church under the banner of "anti-Communism." As a result, the Vatican established unfriendly relationships with many nations who were for progressive development. Catholic workers began to leave the official leadership of the Church en masse. It became increasingly clear to them that the persuasions of the hierarchy on the democratic character of the Church and the supposed fact that it is a "Church of the poor" were lies. The workers were seemingly told that the pompous assurances of the Vatican of the "independence and neutrality" of the Church in the struggle between labor and capital, in practice turned out to be an obvious aid to the capitalists. Catholicism calls itself "The Third Power," which is equally hostile both to

capitalism and to Communism. However, the workers became convinced that in reality "the Holy Church" turned into a tool of capitalism in its fight with socialism. Even the Cardinals began to understand that it could not continue like this any longer.

After a long struggle in the conclave, the compromise figure, Angelo Roncalli, was elected pope; he took the name John XXIII.

Before his election the Pope had been in the diplomatic service. John XXIII is of peasant origin. He gladly has his photograph taken with his brothers and numerous relatives. To serve the purpose of the day, a peasant pope is not bad at all. The bourgeoisie understand it well and the press prints the Pope's "democratic" photographs and myths by the millions. Many middle-class papers forecast that John XXIII will open a "new era" in the Vatican's policies.

But let's turn to the affairs of the new Pope. He did not take the name of Pius, as if to say that he will not openly continue the policies of Pius XI and XII. At Easter and Christmas, John XXIII visits the hospitals and even the prisons, "giving consolation to the suffering." The Pope is not against technical advances. He gladly uses a car, train, plane, and motor boat. He devotes much time to Church affairs and less time than Pius XII to the wide clerical and political receptions and addresses. The new Pope preaches "truth" and advocates "agreement between nations and governments, etc."

At the same time, the new Pope in his addresses (Christmas 1958 and others) attacks, though in rather restrained terms, the countries of "the atheists" in which, according to him, there takes place the "enslavement of thought and labor." The Pope took a stand against the Chinese People's Republic.

In 1959, the Vatican again repeated Pius's anti-Communist decree of 1949, which forbade Catholics to cooperate with Communists or their organizations. The middle class and the clerical press widely publicises the attention which the Pope pays to the right wing socialists. John XXIII even graciously received their Italian leader, Saragatto (?), who is labeled "the papal socialist" by the workers. It is not surprising. These social conciliators have in reality been cooperating for a long time with the Catholic parties, to deceive the workers and divert them from the fight for socialism. The late Leon Blum, leader of the French socialist conciliators, conceded with emotion the similarity of positions of the Catholics

and socialists who "coincide to such a degree that any significant contradictions are excluded."

Since that time social democracy has gone far "ahead." It says in the "declaration on socialism and religion," adopted by the Socialist International, that the bible can be regarded as "one of the spiritual and ethical origins of socialist thought" and "socialist politics ... can be derived both from religious and non-religious origins." As we can see, contemporary Catholicism and social opportunism have common ancestry.

Out of cautiousness, however, the Pope demands from Catholics that they "not to obey the teachings of the socialists as regards questions condemned by the Church, but to be guided by the Church's teaching, which guarantees just relationships on earth." It is surprising, however, that Christianity exists on this earth some 2,000 years now, but justice in the society of the exploiters is still not here.

The Pope declared that he is considering calling a world meeting for the purpose of establishing the unity of all Christians. But what can such a unity accomplish? The strengthening of Christianity and its adjustment to the questions of the day -- they say in knowing circles. Old Story! And so the Pope wants to mobilize the whole Christian world to fight under his leadership against the same thing ... Communism. The Catholic leadership has been struggling under this banner for the past 100 years. And so it seems -- old tune, new dance.

#### IX. CATHOLICS LEAVE THE VATICAN

The exodus of the faithful from the official Catholic Church and from its leadership has gone on throughout history. The main cause of this has been the realization by individual persons, and at times by the whole social groups, that the Church is nothing else than an organization of the ruling class of exploiters and their defense.

In the Middle Ages they were labeled heretics, sects, and beliefs -- which were proclaimed harmful by the official Church. The people were leaving Catholicism and were creating, what they thought, the new and correct religious organizations. In reality, a cruel social fight was going on under this religious cloud between the oppressed and the oppressors and the Church which defended the latter.

In the 16th Century, in western Europe, the struggle of the peasants and the middle class with the feudal system turned into a kind of religious struggle against the Catholic Church, which subsequently became known as the Reformation. As a result of the Reformation, the Catholic Church began to lose its influence in the countries of Europe where different types of Protestantism began to arise -- Lutheranism, Calvinism, and the Anglicanism.

The process of leaving the Catholic Church continued. Many people in our times break with the Vatican as a political center of the reaction. Many continue to regard themselves as Catholics, but they seek out different political organizations which defend their interests and correspond to their views and desires.

Atheism began to spread more and more with the development of human society, the growth of mechanization, and the strengthening of the struggle against the feudal regime and serfdom. Philosophers, thinkers, scientists, civic leaders, poets, and writers began to speak out against the Church. Atheism found an especially favorable ground among the workers. Pope Pius XI conceded with despair that "the scandal of the 19th Century was the loss of the working class" so that now atheism penetrated into the widest national circles and finds its support everywhere.

The Vatican's loss of political influence over Catholics can easily be seen in the defeats which the Catholic parties suffer more and more often during elections in various countries. In 1953, during the elections to the Italian parliament, the leading party of the Christian Democrats received only 40% of the votes instead of the 48.5% in the election of 1948, having thus lost 1.9 million votes. The French party (MRP), which is close to the hearts of the Catholics, suffered even greater losses at the time of elections to the French parliament. In 1951, it received 2.2 million votes against 4.76 million in 1946. The Catholic party of Belgium also suffered serious losses in the last parliamentary elections. It was forced to retreat before the ruling party -- the Social Democrats.

In West Germany, especially interesting displacements have been taking place. In September 1953, at the time of the elections for the Bundestag, the Catholic parties won great victories. However, the minute the leader of the Catholics, Chancellor Adenauer openly declared his support of the remilitarization



of Germany, the reinstatement of the Wehrmacht (the German army), and the draft, and the minute he said that the unification of Germany might lead to war, the Catholic workers who were dreaming of a peaceful democratic unification of their homeland began to lose faith in the Christian Democrats. At the time of the last elections for the Landtag of the several provinces of West Germany, the Catholic parties lost millions of voters who preferred to cast their votes for the Social Democrats who are against the policies of Adenauer.

From the point of view of class structure, the Catholic world is not monolithic. On the contrary, the main mass of Catholics consists of workers, small burgers and, especially, peasants; the comparatively small Church and party top brass goes together with the bourgeoisie. This inevitably leads to the struggle within the Catholic camp on all questions of the day. Not only do the rank-and-file Catholics leave the Vatican, but also the lower clergy and some organs of the press belonging to the religious organizations, which in turn are closely related to the workers. In April 1960, in West Germany itself there was a strong popular movement demanding the resignation of Minister of Finance Oberlaender, a former Nazi and the executioner of L'vov. Adenauer defended his Nazi minister, but under the pressure of his own party and the Catholic organizations' "Christian workers movement," "Catholic student union," and others, he was forced to let Oberlaender go for an indefinite vacation.

In several countries with middle class regimes (France, Italy, the US, and others) there began to arise organizations of "progressive Christians," "Catholic workers' action," "Christian supporters of peace," "Veritas" (the Truth), and others which cooperate with the camp of peace and democracy. Millions of Catholics left their signatures on the petition of the World Council of Peace, and hundreds of Catholic priests sincerely labor in the cause of peace. It is sufficient to remember the names of such fighters as the French abbots Bullier and Grantier, the Italian priest Andrea Godgero, and many others who did not cease their work despite the repressions from the Vatican. Even among the Jesuits there are leaders who are against the anti-national politics of the Vatican (several Jesuit professors in France, Aligieri Tondi in Italy, and others).



In recent times the opposition to the reactionary politics of the Vatican grows in the Catholic countries of South America. In Brazil, for example, despite the prohibitions and repressions from the Vatican there exists an opposing "National Catholic Church." The estrangement of the wide masses from the reactionary politics of Vatican in Italy, where the influence of the Church is greatest, can be shown not only by the growth of the Catholic vote cast for the Communists, and Socialists at the parliamentary election, but also by the fact that the believers refuse to form branches of the reactionary "Catholic movement" organization. According to the statistics of Jesuit Corti, 80% of the population of Italy does not frequent the church; and in Rome, only 1% of the population frequents the church. In Italy the number of priests decreased six times in the past 100 years and the number of those entering the Jesuit Order has shrunk 26% in recent years. In France the Church is attended by hardly 15-30% of the urban population. In 1953, in his Christmas address to the faithful, Pius XII complained that today there is an increase in the number of people who "are indifferent to the church and who are altogether disbelievers." In 1955, the head of the Spanish church was bemoaning the same fate: "The workers do not support us, the wide strata of the working class are not with us as yet." He had every reason for it. The Archbishop of Valencia conducted a survey on the question of the workers' relation to the Church. Seventy-four percent of those interviewed answered that they do not trust the Church and do not believe in what it teaches.

Despite the Vatican's prohibitions, the joining of Catholic organizations, especially that of the unions, with the various democratic organizations grows forever stronger on the common basis of the struggle for the vital interests of the workers against the threat of a new war. There are now movements and groups in the Catholic parties as well as in the other organizations, which demand unity of action of these organizations regardless of religious, national, or party affiliations.

The Communists of Italy, France, and other countries are faithful to Lenin's teaching that the unity of the proletariat in its fight for creation of a paradise on earth is more important than the cohesion of their thoughts about such a paradise. They work hard to create such unity of action with the Catholics and it yields results. The young people, especially,

are its ardent supporters. The Vatican, as should be expected, takes all measures against such an unity. In 1955, Pope Pius XII declared that such unity spells capitulation of Catholics before the atheists. But that is religious speculation. It really denotes the struggle of the common man for the establishment of just relationships on this earth.

At the last elections to the Italian parliament one phrase became rather popular: "Pray to God and vote for Togliatti." This displacement of the Catholics to the left was recognized by the American newspaper The Christian Science Monitor. It wrote: "Millions of Catholics remain Catholic, but vote for the Communists." It is understandable. In Italy the Christian Democrats are in power now for over 10 years, but what have they done for the workers? The country is going through an economic depression, the capitalistic monopolies which are supported by the government lead an attack on the workers, and the national interests of Italy are sacrificed to American interests.

The growth of unity of the workers regardless of their religious convictions and their liberation from the political influence of the Vatican can be seen especially vividly in the countries of the people's democracies. There, the Catholics truly condemn the subversive activity of the Vatican and its reactionary allies, and work energetically to build a socialist society.

Therefore, one should not identify the Vatican's ideology and the politics of official Catholicism with the aspirations of millions of believers. An internal crisis inherent in Catholicism is inevitable. It grows more and more imminent with the aggravation of the class contradictions in the imperialist camp and with progress in the socialist one. Since contemporary Catholicism merged with imperialism it has become obvious that the inevitable crisis of capitalism becomes its crisis also; the Vatican is threatened with a total collapse. Trying desperately to save the dying capitalist regime of slavery, contemporary Catholicism digs its own grave.

However, no power can save it. Communism, rising like a star over the world, does not need it.

#### Footnotes

1. K. Marx and F. Engels O religii (On Religion), State Publishing House for Pol. Lit. 1955, Page 157

2. K. Marx and F. Engels, Works, Vol XVI, part 2,  
p 295.
3. V. I. Lenin, Works, Vol 17, p 114.
4. V. I. Lenin, Works, Vol 19, p 77.
5. Palmiro Togliatti, "For Politics of Labor, Freedom,  
and Peace," Pravda, 18 April 1950
6. Pravda, 29 March 1960
7. Pravda, 31 March 1960
8. V. I. Lenin, Works, Vol 4, p 348.